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closely packed in the church as the wedding party entered to face the altar before a table in the center of the church. 585

The bride and groom had no more than taken their stand when a middle-aged woman hurried to place dough baked in the form of a male phallic symbol deep in the sash worn by the bride and another piece to represent the female organs around the waist of the groom. This was done half surreptitiously while the priest was busy about something else. [831]

As the ceremony began I realized as never before the important part played by godparents in the ritualistic and spiritual life of the village. They stood behind the bride and groom, who were attended by the groom's brother as *dever,* or best man. The young couple shifted from foot to foot, each holding a bunch of flowers in one hand and a large burning taper in the other. The priest read from the Bible in his beautiful rich tones about the wedding at Cana of Galilee, and then asked God's blessing upon the couple. [608]

At this point the priest stepped out of his role and said to me: "Would you like to take a picture now?" Then when I was set for a time-exposure, he said to the crowd: "Everybody, quiet!" My act done, he told the godparents to assist in the changing of the rings from bride to groom, as well as the fragile, bright crowns previously placed upon the heads of the couple. In addition, the priest, as part of the ritual, passed around the chalice so the young couple, the best man, and the godparents could sip the wine. These same people then followed the priest in a walk around the table on which a cross and the Holy Scriptures rested. Three times around they went, stopping four times during each circuit to symbolize north, east, south, and west. At each of these twelve stops the party bowed over the table and its sacred relics. It was during this walk that the godmother tossed the rice, candy, and coins in the air for the children.

Such a brief account fails to include much of the liturgy which was an important part of the Orthodox Church's ceremony, but the peasant accounts of a wedding skimmed over this as being either unimportant or else a topic about which they were uninformed. In fact, most of the men accompanying the bridal party to the church remained outside during the ceremony. The parents of the groom

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527 857 and provide food and drink for their friends on their name days. Children had to grow into the many practices surrounding holidays just as they had to grow into understanding of how to become a good farmer. It took some time to learn, for example, that on September 11, the Day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, one should have nothing to do with objects colored red. That color symbolized blood and guilt. On the first of March, however, red was very much in evidence. In the cities the young people exchange *martenitsi*, equivalent to our Valentines. This day was popularly called *Baba Marta* or "Old Woman March," because the weather during March was changeable and whimsical.

Although the villagers themselves paid little attention to the patriotic holidays which had been started within the past few decades, children welcomed them, for they meant a variation in the school routine. Schoolteachers would never think of letting a patriotic holiday go by without some special exercises. Among such holidays were those commemorating the liberation of Bulgaria, the King's birthday, the King's name day, the King's ascension to the throne. A special holiday for students was also becoming firmly rooted. It was the one honoring the missionary brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were the patron saints of learning.

[574] These holidays, both religious and patriotic, were often the occasion for relatives to come to the village. The buses, mysteriously held together in places by baling wire, chugged up the hill to the square to disgorge their load of people and grotesque bundles. Children crowded around to greet the newcomers and merrily skipped beside [166] them as they walked toward the house. However, one-third of the homes had *no* visitors from outside the village during the year. Many of the visitors were originally from Dragalevtsy. A record of one year's migrants, twenty-one in all, showed that six had married outsiders and settled elsewhere; four had gone as soldiers, four as students, two as laborers, and the rest as cabmen, watchmen, and a coffeehouse proprietor.

527 857 608 All these holidays meant much to the children: exciting food, observance of age-old customs, and the arrival of guests. A few holidays were of special importance to godparents and godchildren. On

Epiphany the godparent went to the home of his godchild, poured water on him or, in a rare case, pushed him into the river for the sake of his health during the coming year. On Cheese Sunday, however, the godchild went to his godparent's home with a gift and begged forgiveness for all sins committed during the year. On certain other holidays and special occasions the godchild was also supposed to pay his respects. 608 527 857

Some features of this bond between godparent and godchild were strange to one unfamiliar with the Orthodox Church. Behavior in the presence of godparents was highly formalized and correct. A person would not lie to his godparent; nor was he supposed ever to swear in his godparent's presence. These customs emphasized the mystical spiritual union which was supposed to exist between godparent and godchild. 608

Because the office of the godparent was hereditary, the same family provided godparents for the members of another family for generations. Consequently a feeling of strong relationship had come about. A godparent was considered one of the closest of relatives. "The godfather is closer than an uncle, and the godmother is closer than an aunt," the peasants used to say. Children of the two families could not marry even though madly in love, because, in the sight of the village, they were related. The taboo against marriage into the family of the mother's godparents further complicated matters. A woman, upon marriage, adopted the godparent of her husband, who assumed the same responsibility to the children of that couple as he did to the father. If a godparent was called upon to officiate at a wedding or a christening and was unable to attend, he could send one of his children to perform in his stead. [582]

We have already seen the part that the godparents *(kumove)* played in the wedding ceremony.[1] The rite of christening revealed even more of the relationship between godparent and his spiritual ward. He went with a friend or relative to the infant's home, some two or three Sundays after its birth, and took it to the church. He had previously discussed the child's name with the parents and usually followed their wishes, but had the right to give the child any name he thought proper. In the case of the first son he was apt to follow the 608 553 851

[1] [See p 89, category 116 -- Analyst]

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custom of giving him the "little name" of his paternal grandfather.

After the morning church service a small group of interested people would gather around the priest up near the front of the church. The priest, dressed in his richly decorated robes and with his long auburn hair uncovered, made an impressive figure. The sexton and a woman or two scurried around getting lukewarm water ready in a basin. The air of the room was heavy with the combined smell of incense, used in the church service, and melting tallow, as the tapers in the front candelabra sputtered toward exhaustion. Before they flickered out an attendant doused them in water and threw the stubs into a tin receptacle near the bowl of sand, in which worshipers had placed candles in memory of the dead.

After the layers of swaddling clothes had been removed from the infant the priest quieted the small group by saying: "Let us begin." While the godparent held the baby he listened to the solemn obligation which he was assuming, an obligation made more impressive by the use of scriptural passages and a charge by the priest. Levity quickly replaced any serious thoughts as the godfather jocularly affirmed three times that he "resigned" from the devil, and spat across the baby resoundingly onto the floor to signify that he would keep everything unholy from the child.

The high light of the church ceremony was the immersion of the tiny baby three times in warm water mixed with olive oil. As Father Sava had had ample experience with the three little girls of his own, he deftly balanced the child in palm and forearm while laving it three times in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then the woman assisting the godfather, usually his wife, dressed the baby in an entirely new outfit. While this was taking place the priest was washing and drying his hands with a bar of soap and towel which the godparents provided and which they expected him to keep as a part of his fee.

[846]

The infant's mother had remained at home because her purification ceremony at the church could not take place until forty days after the child's birth. Of course, she was expected to help prepare the christening feast which followed the church ceremonies. The christening party invariably arrived at the home in a gay mood and stood around laughing as the godfather turned the child over to the mother

1 [From the christening ceremony -- Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

with these words: "I took the child away a Jew and now I return him to you a Christian."

There was usually an awkward wait of half an hour or more until the meal was ready and the priest had come to give the blessing so the feasting could begin. The christening dinner was one of the most significant of all family events for both adults and children. A child could not attend school without a baptismal certificate, nor could he later join the army, get a passport, or do anything of real importance without this church record. For a child from an Orthodox home to be unchristened was worse than having him unnamed; he did not exist legally. The national government, however, honored the equivalent of these baptismal certificates given by religious minority groups for their members, and also considered valid their marriages and divorces, be they Moslems, Jews, or Protestants. This religious freedom and tolerance had been a source of pride to many a Bulgarian in the past.

There were times in Dragalevtsy, though rare indeed, when the two families involved felt it best to break off the godparent relationship. If a woman, for instance, had three or four miscarriages, the godparents, who officiated at the wedding, might say: "You're not having very good luck with your children. We've been talking it over, and believe that things would work out better for you if you had different godparents." The husband and wife could then invite another couple to be godparents.

There were a few instances where babies did not have godparents at birth. Former godparents for the family might have died, moved away, or been unwilling to serve. In such a case the baby, no matter what the weather happened to be, was left on a street corner near the church just prior to the Sunday morning service. Naturally, the cries of the child attracted the curiosity of some passer-by. At the moment that he went over to look at the baby some elderly woman rushed out of hiding to say: "Congratulations, sir. You have the honor of serving as godparent to this child." So off he was marched to the church, be he foreigner, gypsy, drunk, or on important government business, to participate as godfather in the christening. Should he move to some distant place, he was still expected to keep in touch with his unexpected charge and, if possible, return in due course of time to take part in the

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

608 553 851 godchild's wedding. This strange custom illustrated that where there is a *must*, such as *having* to have a godparent, there was a traditional method for correcting any irregularity.

658 871 Another *must* for the children, at least from the government point of view, was school attendance. The child began his formal education at seven years of age. In the "good old days" much ceremony attended this event. The peasants called the teacher *"Kandilo,"* a candle, the one to light the path for the child entrusted to him. As education became more common, the old ceremonies died out. All that remained of that old ceremonial respect was the handful of flowers the children sometimes gathered in the fields for a favorite teacher.

In Turkish times, only boys attended school. Educational activity in Dragalevtsy, however, took a new lease on life with the completion of the excellent building in 1931, made financially possible by the help of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior. The school consisted of four primary grades and three classes which were termed the "pro-gymnasium." Boys and girls were supposed to complete the pro-gymnasium, though they could drop out as soon as they reached their fifteenth year. The director was in charge of all of the school's activity, under the supervision of the school inspectors.

The diagram on the following page illustrates the educational hierarchy of the country.

Few decisions were left to the local school authorities, whose duties had become largely administrative, in the sense of observing the regulations handed down from above. As the school director said, "Everything is controlled from the *Inspection*, though the teachers have much freedom in the classroom." Even this freedom was supervised. At the conclusion of each class the teacher had to go to the office and list the work taken up that hour, the questions asked, and assignments made. The inspector made surprise inspections of the health situation, the records of the director, and, if he chose, of the lesson notebooks of the school children. The purpose of this inspection was to check up and control, not to supervise constructively.

The school was supported financially by the Dragalevtsy *Obshtina*, though the salaries of the eight teachers were paid by the national

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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tongue in water without salt, and the brothers take three sips of the soup. The rest has to be eaten by the sick person during three days: first the tongue, then the eyes, and then the brain. The carcass is taken by the redeemer and the old woman secretly to the tree. Arrived there, they cross themselves and say: 'Good evening to our NN.' The redeemer digs a hole, and the seeress puts the carcass into it saying: 'To the black earth we give: brain for brain, eyes for eyes, feet for feet, and the earth is to give us: health and joy, laughter and jest, speech and discourse to carry back to our NN.' The brother also repeats this three times and covers up the body, and on this spot they put the water-pot and the basil. They say: 'We kill you, we revive our NN.' After crossing themselves they return taking care not to be seen by anybody. Arrived at the house of the sick person the redeemer knocks at and kicks the door: 'Open the heavy gates!' The mother answers from inside: 'What do you bring?'—'We bring day for night, laughter for tears, jest for sorrow, health in place of sickness for our brother NN.' They go in to the sick person, who has to ask: 'What good news?' The redeemer says: 'We bring you day, laughter, jest, joy and health—here!' and makes as though to hand him these gifts, and they embrace.[1]

In another district of Serbia the doctress (*vračka*) chains the survivor to the cross of a nameless grave or fetters him at a cross-roads or to a grafted tree, and opening and shutting the fetters—the hopples of a horse—repeats the usual question and answer with the brother by adoption ('Do you accept', etc., etc.) three times. The sick person washes with charmed water and 'leaves the sickness behind him'.[2]

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In Bulgaria a stone of the weight of the surviving colunar was put into the coffin with the corpse, and the redeeming 'brother' lay down beside it. As he rose he said: 'I leave

[1] M. Milosavljević, *op. cit.* pp. 261 *passim.*

[2] T. M. Bulетić, *Narodna Medicina*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 564; cf. footnotes, pp. 89–95. Cf. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 339.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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you this stone for a brother and I take So-and-So to be my brother.'[1]

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Redemption need not always be carried out by a brother by adoption but can be secured by the mother of the person to be redeemed or by a wise woman, e.g. by cutting a silver coin in two on the threshold and burying half in the grave of the dead child,[2] or by putting a stone of the same weight as the survivor on the grave, or a candle of the same length, or by fettering the living to the corpse or on the grave and releasing him.

CM [608] [755] [764]

The colunars can be separated while still alive by giving them the yolk of an egg to eat while standing on opposite sides of a stream (Macedonia).[3] The sick person and the redeemer brother are given a sugared egg to eat together on the threshold at Zagubica. In other rites the substitution is carried out by a fiction. While the dead child is still lying in the house, two candles are made to the measurement of the dead and the living colunar, and two bunches of basil are tied, one with red and the other with black thread. The living child lies down beside the corpse. A woman crosses herself, lights the candles and places them and the bunches of herbs at the heads of the children. She strikes the body and says: 'When you two see one another, then love one another.' She reverses the bunches, giving the red one which belongs to the living to the dead colunar. The other is given to the child's mother, who must keep it and never let the living child see it at any time. The same rite can be gone through, after burial, at the grave. The bunch of basil tied with black is left overnight at the grave, and the red bunch is afterwards buried in the grave. The living child is chained and padlocked to the cross at the grave-head. It is yet more curious that a willow tree can take the place of the dead child. Two sticks are cut, one to the length of the living child and the other to the length of the tree's shadow at mid-day. The rest of the rite, including the leaving of the dead

[1] N. A. Načov, *op. cit.* p. 68. [2] S. M. Grbić, *op. cit.* pp. 294–301.
[3] Cf. Sb.N.U. v, pp. 127, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

In Bulgaria at the feast of the *Rusalje* or *Samovile*, *Vile*—the date varies, but Ascension Day will do as an example—on the eve of the feast a person suffering from a *vila* disease went to a field near water where the *Vila's* plant—*Rosen*, Dittany—grew, with someone of the opposite sex, who was willing to become a brother or sister. An offering of food and wine was made, and one of the flowers was balanced over a new vessel of unbroken water, beside which the sick person lay down and slept while the other watched. After one o'clock the flowers were supposed to fade, and the watcher covered the pot with a new cloth. The next morning before dawn the position of the flower was inspected to see whether it had been visited by the spirit and the sick person drank the water with anything that had fallen into it overnight.[1]

In Bosnia[2] a person who had fever went down to a running stream with a coal from the fire and a piece of garlic, and called on the name of the last member of the family who had died: 'Oh, So-and-So! When you arise and light a fire from this coal and eat this head of garlic then may fever take hold of me!' and he threw the coal and the garlic into the water. (Similar rites in Serbia repeat the throwing of coals and garlic into water and a similar formula but without mention of a dead relative.) Or, having split a young willow branch and made a hoop of it or of a stem of nettle, he drew it over his head and off at his feet. Then he cut notches in the stem to the number of attacks of fever that he had had, counting: 'One fever, two fevers....' Then counting backwards he cut out the notches, and the hoop was hung up behind the fire to dry, just as in Serbia, after the redeemer has helped his brother through a rose-tree hoop, the latter is hung up in the chimney or under the eaves for forty days and after forty days it is floated away down a river or buried.

It is worth noting that one of the formulae for redemption occurs on other occasions. In order to preserve a new-born child a hole is dug in the ground where its head first touches

[1] D. Marinov, *op. cit.* 1; V. N. Čolakov, *Bulgarskyi narodn Sbornik*, p. 39.
[2] T. Dragičević, in Gl.Z.M. xxi.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Bulgaria EE1

755 731 372 kept holy for the next year. At some places there are a number of ready-made tunnels kept for this purpose. If it is inconvenient to dig under a river bank or under a tree, a ditch is made which is roofed over with planks and earth. The tunnel may be wide enough to allow a pair of oxen to pass.[1]

S CM 755 751 The diseases treated in this way are mainly severe epidemics such as small-pox, dysentery, etc., skin diseases ('fiery' complaints), *vukojedina*, *zmijojedina* (Hercegovina, Montenegro), and new fire is made as a preventive after the appearance of a mad wolf or a mad dog. Of the various pests among sheep and cattle that can be treated with new fire it is interesting that the popular names for them frequently re-echo the element of fire and thunder.

S 608 Above I have quoted a case where the fire makers had to become brothers. In any case, they are often called upon to embrace or to drink together before and after their work. Although it is probable that to act together in a secret cult creates a special sympathy or intimacy, there is no other indication of its involving a legal tie. On the other hand, B 372 608 brotherhood can be made at the hearth, and an instance which occurred in Bulgaria gives an idea of the sacredness of fire. On St John's Day (January 7th), the priest and a few near relatives were invited to the house of the man who made the proposal of brotherhood. The fire on the hearth was raked into two separate heaps and a board was placed across the hearth between the fires. The men who were to

[1] S. Trojanović, *Vatra* (1930), is a compilation of accounts of fire ceremonies with many new descriptions of those witnessed by the author, upon which I have freely drawn. Other sources are E. Lilek, *Vadjenje živе vatre u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Gl.Z.M. v (1893); V. Titelbach, *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, XIII (1900), p. 1 *passim*; M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, pp. 310, etc.; V. Titelbach, *Rozmecovani 'živého ohňe' u Jihoslovanů*, Česky Lid, V, 4 (1896), pp. 341, etc.; N. Zega, *Volovska Bogomolja*, Glas. Ethnografskog Muzeja u Beogradu, II (1927); F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Feuerbohrer*, Globus, LIX (1891), pp. 140, etc.; I. Zahariev, *Kjustendilsko Kraište*, Sb.N.U. p. 147 *passim*; V. Decev, Sb.N.U. XIX, p. 90; Sb.N.U. XII, 136, pp. 7–9; L. Pećo, *Običaji i Verovanja iz Bosne*, S.E.Z. XXXII, p. 48; T. M. Buletić, *Temnić*, S.E.Z. VI, pp. 287–8.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Croats EF4
Slovenes EF7
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

keep vows of brotherhood stepped on to the ends of the plank with the right foot. Before beginning to read the Gospel and prayers, the priest asked them in turn three times whether they believed in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and whether they believed in the Fire.[1]

At Planinica for epilepsy, the doctoress visited the patients' house and divided the fire into two parts in the same way and stood over the fires. Other members of the family then pulled the patient in a trough three times under her legs and between the fires. A footprint of a man, or the track of an animal or an insect which was afterwards found in the ashes over which the trough had passed, was given to the patient in water.[2]

Live fire is also carried round the village or round the flocks and herds during an epidemic, and fire is carried in the same way irrespective of immediate needs at a ceremony variously called *Olalija*, *Alalija*, *Lila*, etc., which takes place particularly in pastoral districts, on Ascension, St John's Day, St Peter's Day, or one of the earlier feasts round about Easter. Torches of dried bark (cherry or birch) are borne in forked sticks. In the Holmoljski district the name *Alalija* is given to large fires of straw, etc., lit in or near the village in honour of the dead at the beginning of the spring carnival. People dance round the fires and try to pull one another over them. The shepherds also come down from the pastures bringing their torches which are carried round the village.[3] There are other familiar fire rites on St John's Eve, Easter Eve, St George's Eve, or at Easter. Sometimes the fires are lit on hills all round a

[1] N. A. Načov, *Za Pobratimstvo*, pp. 60–1.

[2] S. Trojanović, *Glavni Srpski Žrtveni Običaji*, pp. 43, 44.

[3] S.E.Z. XIX, *op. cit.* Cf. M. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, pp. 133, etc.; M. Arnaudov, *Studie vorku Bolgarskite Obradi i Legendi*, Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite, IV (1912), p. 16 *passim*; N. Zega, *op. cit.*; S.E.Z. XXIII, p. 102, XIV, p. 333; Zb. X, pp. 1, 52, 1, pp. 247, etc., etc.; Sb.N.U. XII, pp. 7–9; Zíbrt, *Seznam pověr a zvyklostí pohanských z* VIII *věku* (1894), pp. 90–5; Voraček, *Pohanské obětí u Bulharů*, Slov. Sbornik (1889), pp. 539, etc. Cf. V. Haruzin, *K voprosu o počitanie ognja*, Etnog. Obozrenia (1906); G. Vinogradov, *Samovračivanie i zhetvelelnie*, Živaja Starina, XXIV (1915).